

596 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller
618 group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become
769 part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rit-
353 uals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman
778 (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls
562 [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their
daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the
home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority
of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central
position in its performance."

596 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the
618 local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclu-
769 sively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship per-
353 formed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions
778 would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically
562 conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women con-
duct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale,
is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in
the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying
out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are
busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which
796 continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family,
182 that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for co-
operation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman
(1958:23) has noted that the

newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-
worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc*
[178] economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words,
[423] while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established
rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the
relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather
than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

596 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a
182 single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious
581 family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continu-
597 ity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In
769 addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to
worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption en-
sure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the
parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as
in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying
which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still
no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

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MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

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Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

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There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siasiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siasiv system, *siasiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siasiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siasiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilineal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

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587 will marry a divorced woman are usually a widower with his own children, an older man, or sometimes a physically handicapped man. The Hsin Hsing divorcee married a widower with one child.

Such a second marriage is sanctioned by society, but its ceremonial observance is very unlike a first marriage and does not follow the traditional pattern. Rather than being brought in a sedan chair from her village to her husband's home, the woman makes the trip quietly with the matchmaker very early in the morning so as not to be seen by other people. While the necessity for the second marriage is realized and therefore accepted, it is not considered good taste to make a public display of an act which defies the ideal norms and traditions. It would show a definite lack of respect for custom and propriety and would be subject to criticism.

768 From middle age on a woman who is widowed usually prefers to
587 remain in her husband's village, especially if she has been there a long time. If the family is undivided, she and her children will continue to live with her deceased husband's family, or if the family has previously divided, she and her children may continue to live as a separate household. A younger widow with young children is more likely to be a drain on the family's economy. Her deceased husband's family, frequently with the help of her own people, may soon very seriously consider her remarriage. A widow, like a divorcee, is limited in the types of husband she can find. If she is considered a good daughter-in-law and gets on well with the deceased husband's family, a marriage may be arranged with a younger unmarried brother. Although there is presently only one such case in Hsin Hsing village, this form of second marriage is not uncommon in the area and is perfectly acceptable.

(464) In other cases, if a younger widow does not get on well with her
(178) deceased husband's family, has no financial resources, and cannot be supported by his family, she may go elsewhere to work in order to earn a living for herself and her children. (This is possible today because of job opportunities for women.) Or she may even return, with or without her children, to stay with her natal family at least until she can remarry. The question of the disposition of her children must be settled with her deceased husband's family, though it is more common for her children to accompany her as she enters her new life. Thus, although divorce causes the break-up of the family, the death of a husband does not necessarily cause any major change in the functioning of the family, especially if the woman is older and has grown children.

ADOPTION

• 597 Two major types of adoption are recognized by the villagers in the Hsin Hsing area according to the particular reasons for the adop-

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tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *siaosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tsu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

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At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sinosiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fcl's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53-55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

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A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

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When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv Marriage

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125-127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54-55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *siaosiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *siaosiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *siaosiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *siaosiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54-55) explanations for the *siaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *siaosiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *siaosiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *siaosiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *siaosiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *siaosiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *siaosiv* adop-

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- tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sisosiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

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The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mei tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilineal nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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- 592 families, neither of two brothers is likely to have enough sons or sufficient financial stability to risk giving up the potential income and future security a son represents by allowing even a brother to adopt a male child. These small village families generally find it impossible to manifest many of the patterns of the traditional family ideal, with the result that son adoption in the Hsin Hsing village area usually takes place between families which are not related by blood.
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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception.

Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

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769 this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

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178 The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One [829] village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

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597 Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

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Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

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Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

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The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

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The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

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RELIGION AND MAGIC

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plained easily or cured quickly by present-day medicine, or for any other problem in which the cause is believed to be supernatural. 756

The *t'iao t'ung* also sometimes deals in divination while in a trance. At such times the god speaking through him may, for example, give advance notice of future events such as the visit of a "guest god" from a distant area like the mainland of China or even some coming change in the life of a villager or in the village itself. [787]

Perhaps the most important specialist in divination, however, is the geomancer. As we have noted earlier, he determines the auspicious time and place for important events like marriage, burial, or building a new house. He does this through the use of his special almanac, which is based on astrology, the conceptions of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and so on. The geomancer himself is usually an ordinary man, very often a farmer, whose divining activities are performed in his spare time for a small fee. He has generally been trained by an older geomancer, very often a relative. The training consists mainly in gaining a mastery of the uses of the almanac and in acquiring a familiarity with the formalities and proper sequences of the events which he must give advice about. One geomancer in Hsin Hsing village is scarcely literate, yet he has apparently mastered enough knowledge about his almanac's contents and the proper sequences of events to be employed frequently, especially in surrounding villages outside of Hsin Hsing. Hsin Hsing villagers, however, seem to prefer to call in an outside geomancer rather than to consult their own fellow villager. The villagers' awareness of the relative illiteracy of geomancers in general (who are nevertheless still called in for consultation) makes one suppose that the formal qualifications of the practitioner are less important than his acceptance as a recognized geomancer. His powers may not be considered to depend entirely on the amount of formal training he has had, or his function in relieving the members of the family from the responsibility of making a difficult decision may be sufficiently valued to make his actual qualifications unimportant in their eyes. 791

Other kinds of diviners, fortune-tellers, or people who are said to be able to communicate with the dead can be found in Lukang and other such towns and cities. Fortune-tellers are frequently itinerant, and occasionally pass through the villages offering their services. [212]

When a fortune-teller happens to come through the village, it is not unlikely that he has heard that some family there has a problem in which a fortune-teller may be of assistance. In Hsin Hsing, for example, the very wealthy K'ang landlord family had nine daughters and two sons. Apparently, it was generally known that the family would like to give one daughter out for adoption, but was hesitating to do so for fear they would be criticized. It was at this point that a fortune-teller "happened" to come to the village and offer his service to the 791
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K'ang family, which immediately consulted him. In the course of reading the family's fortune he conveniently found that portents for the future were unfavorable but could be positively influenced if one daughter were given up for adoption. This course was adopted and quickly acted upon. There was now little fear of village criticism, since the action was clearly necessary to preserve the family's good fortune.

SUPERNATURAL RITUALISM

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All religion exists to provide at least an illusion of protective control against the uncertainties of nature. Although efforts to draw a clear line between religion and magic are usually not successful, certain differences can be pointed out. Generally, religion has some ethical or moral content, while magic contents itself with a more limited scope. Religion functions to preserve a concept of the universe in which man can survive (almost always including after death) so long as he obeys the rules; and the rules are those which his religion teaches him. Depending on the complexity of his particular religion, his priests may or may not be able to intercede directly for him with the mighty supernatural beings who are his gods.

Magic, on the other hand, does not usually have a strong ethical content; generally, it is completely pragmatic. In its concepts, supernatural forces or beings exist; they may be relatively indifferent to man or may be beneficent or malevolent. The essential thing about all of them is that they are subject to certain controls which can be wielded by man (often by specially gifted individuals only). As Malinowski (1948) has often pointed out, the art of magic is the manipulation and coercion of impersonal supernatural powers in order automatically to bring about a definite and desired end. In the Hsin Hsing village area, although it may be at times difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between religious and magical rituals, both types are nevertheless identifiable.

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As to clearly religious rituals, I found that Hsin Hsing area villagers usually draw a distinction according to the cyclic or noncyclic nature of the religious rite. The normally expectable events like birth, marriage, death, and some other such "rites of passage" or "crisis rites" which are noncyclic have already been discussed in Chapter 7. I will now discuss the fixed, recurrent group rites, usually referred to in the literature as "rites of intensification."

Cyclic Rites

The villagers' calendrical schedule of *pai-pai* contains only rites associated with formal religious holidays. However, there are other cyclic rites whose time schedules are determined strictly by the individual family or *tsu* group; though cyclical, they fall into another

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Taiwan AD6

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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

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Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

- ¹ Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."
- ² Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

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Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

- ¹ A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.
- ² This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.
- ³ A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77-78) for Japan.
- ⁴ If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.
- ⁵ In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

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Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

- ¹ During 1957-1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.
- ² The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960-1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

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2: Wolf

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[For the relationship between the foster and the natal family of an adopted child, see category 593.]

2: Wolf

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[For data on adoption in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 1-8, 39-105, and 121-288.]

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

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ter 1910 a total of 17 (17 percent) made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

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Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[Information on the sīm-pūa and siaosiv has been filed also in categories 583 and 584.]

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ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

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As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

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Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus jidided themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

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In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

future wife. Unfortunately, this second son died before the age of two from one of the many diseases that afflict Chinese infants. To make matters worse, when Tan A-hong was nine or ten, the girl the family had given away to make room for Lim A-pou was returned to them because the boy she was to marry in her foster family had also died. This placed Lim Han-ci in an awkward position, one that endangered the shaky balance a tenant farmer maintains with his poverty. Lim A-pou, the girl adopted to marry their eldest son, was old enough to be useful around the house and was proving to be a hard worker. Tan A-hong, adopted to marry the son who died, was still too young to work in the fields and was not particularly needed around the house. When their natural daughter was returned to them, Lim Han-ci found himself with two "useless" girls to feed, clothe, and marry to other families. He solved the problem of Tan A-hong by reselling her to another family; he accepted his fate by keeping his natural daughter. In view of the subsequent histories of the two girls, the decision was probably a wise one, but it must have been difficult at the time. Lim Han-ci's daughter grew up in her own family, made a good marriage, and returned to the house during my stay only on appropriate ceremonial occasions. Her siblings and foster siblings are fond of her, and she and her husband make no more than the usual demands on the family. Tan A-hong's relationship with the family should have ended at the point she left them, but they were plagued by her problems for years to come. She finally returned to settle permanently in Peihotien about half way through my stay in the village.

Lim Chieng-cua was the next son born to Lim Han-ci and although never very strong, he survived the dangers of a Chinese childhood. Two years later another daughter was born to the family, but she lived for little more than a month. To soothe the maternal sorrow and to provide Lim Chieng-cua with a wife, Iu Mui-mue was adopted almost immediately.

The last child born to Lim Han-ci's wife was also a girl. She was given away as soon as she was weaned and to my knowledge never returns to visit the family, not even on the traditional homecoming festival of the New Year. This is not unusual behavior on the part of children given away in adoption. Proverbially—and from my observation there is a great deal of truth in the proverbs—adopted daughters are treated harshly by their foster parents. Not all female adoptions are to provide sons with wives. Some little girls are adopted simply as

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*596 daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are
*593 adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small
*159 slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them
• 597 the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and par-
ents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are
never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One
of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is
to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, weebegone
child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted
daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to
hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to
their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence.
This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal
parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with some-
thing akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly.
This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these
attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again
in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and
their foster parents.

*596 Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chi-
*159 nese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most
861 fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beat-
*593 ing, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and direct-
ing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the
stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the
training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the
subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci
demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of him-
self; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was
considered strict in a community where children are punished severely
and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once
in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy
wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for
weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the mis-
behaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

*596 Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to
*159 the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said
861 he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without
241 passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds
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Lim So-lan: A Second Wife

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT\$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT\$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month.

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT\$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT\$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT\$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT\$.50, but the owner sells them for NT\$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT\$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work."

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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*159 Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I
• 597 told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her
434 go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embar-
[602] rassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked
in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned
NT\$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last
year she started to get an increase of NT\$2 each time he raised wages.
That isn't so bad."

*159 For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not
597 uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and
*593 her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her
mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out suc-
cinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means:
"Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much
around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to
do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the differ-
ence."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for
her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in
the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as
a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother
does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper
Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she ac-
cepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She
is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be
inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested
that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day
when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's
family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking
for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is
a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

*159 So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of
*593 the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles.
597 "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a
855 bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too
515 hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting
578 and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to
take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind.
Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidentally banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

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A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says so. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

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When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticeably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

*159 brought tears to her eyes. In attempting to hold back her tears, she
*593 answered more sharply than she intended. "You know I have no
• 597 control over that one. If you can control her, why don't you go scold
598 her yourself."

This made the old woman angry. "You, her own mother, can't control her so you ask me to do it for you!" With that, she scornfully turned her back on the miserable So-lan.

This cast a more serious light on what had started as a squabble between two daughters. The room became much quieter. In a corner A-hua was sobbing to a sympathetic aunt, "She said she was going to hit me, so I just told her to go ahead. She picked up the towel and hit me over and over with it, even in the face."

Lim So-lan's composure failed. "If they keep on fighting like this I am the one that is going to leave and let them fight by themselves. There is no point in my being there. The older one never would listen to me and now the younger one won't listen either. I only have two and all they give me is trouble and fighting. Everyone knows that it is impossible to control Gioq-ki and always has been. I tell A-hua not to make things worse by quarreling with her and her children, but she doesn't listen to me any more. She scolds back at her and reprimands the children in front of her. Even my grandchildren bring me grief.

B.1] The oldest [a five-year-old boy] scolds me to my face, but I don't dare hit him because his mother wouldn't be happy about that, not a bit! If she gets angry when I, the grandmother, hit the children of course she won't let you touch them. Why can't you just accept this? Just ignore them and listen to me. Oh, that I only have two and one can't be controlled by anyone and has to boss everyone else . . . and now the other one can't let someone scold her. How is there to be an end to the fighting in my house?"

A-hua was too near hysteria to hear what her mother said. In the pause that followed So-lan's lament, A-hua repeated what had almost become a chant, "I know why she does it. It is worse now and I know why. Just because I'm not working now she thinks I am sitting home eating her rice. That is why she does all this to me."

Evidently Lim So-lan had not grasped this aspect of the quarrel. Her despair turned at once to anger. "What is this? What do you say? Is she saying that? No, you are not working now, but it costs her no money. I am the one who pays all the money out in this family, even her bills. How can she say that? When did she say that?"

A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

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Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

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Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

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chapter 7

[p. 75]



LIM A-POU:
A
WIFE
AND A
SISTER



Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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*159 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her
*596 life because she knows no other.

*593 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the
584 behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted
• 597 reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not
complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a dili-
gence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard task-
master as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was
particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her,
"Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?"

[461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and
her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the
kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily
manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered
daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a
yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family de-
pends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of
the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved
incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small
children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors
[231] in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable
occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist
by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half
hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an after-
noon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce
[115] about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with gen-
eral information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of
adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to
her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted
one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a
daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she
didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't
know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim
Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim
Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her
objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and
much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

Lim A-pou: A Wife and a Sister

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formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. 159*
A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim 596*
Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she 593*
would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the 584
family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under 597
such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of
A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered
seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and
the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to
take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the
marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daugh-
ter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in
the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have
some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations
began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indiffer-
ence to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely
to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence [851]
many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers
may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's
long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his
amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not
destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security
of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous fam-
ily could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal
relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and 159*
disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have
been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do
in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-
pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to
many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for
much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim
household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to
unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversa-
tions with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old
lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I
was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every 159*
other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned 291
Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

Lim A-pou: A Wife and a Sister

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lan when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

*596 her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few
574 nights or a few months.

602 When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I
* 159 had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother
+596 to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname,
• 597 but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I
dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more
sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit
lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when
addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually at-
tractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who
was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not
take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted
daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own
daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in
our house for several months and when one of the small village
houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becom-
ing a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his
treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter,"
he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when
he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer
afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who
bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy fami-
lies who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise
in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this,
1159 Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have
1596 arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who
597 wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-
581 tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had
second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out
of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan
family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her
subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some
doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong
1159 soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a
1596 prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to
597 [548] include the character for phoenix (hong) which is often found in the
[551] professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

Tan A-hong: An Adopted Daughter

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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day. [855]

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo. [855] [722]

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy [159+] [142] [145] [302] [139+] [291] [296]

+596 a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged
+159 her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with
+593 it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

548 Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and
[528] pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The
[296] Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in
their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One
day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard
the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (an-
other adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

[291] The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki
nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for
that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her
when she is here."

[435] Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you,
but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dol-
lars."

+159 A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give
+596 her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

+593 Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter!
• 597 Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll
want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the
other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you,
and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all
to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she
was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but
now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now
and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat
with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng
treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of
nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very
well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

+159 herself finally gave up hope, I never found out, but after a few more
*593 months his visits to the village ceased, and Chun-ieng spent most of
548 her time in Taipei. The Lims had little to say on the subject, but I
[836] don't think I only imagined that Tan A-hong came to the house
considerably less often than was her wont. Perhaps she was just busier
at her gambling.

*159 During the last few months of my stay with the Lims, I noticed
*596 Lim A-pou make several trips out of the village dressed in her formal
*593 dark clothing. I asked A-ki where her mother-in-law was going, but
597 got only a sad shake of the head. Then one day Lim A-pou returned
with Chun-ieng, accompanied by a pretty though very frightened four-
year-old girl. At Chun-ieng's request, Lim A-pou had found her a
daughter to adopt. Chun-ieng stayed home from work for several
days, spending all her time with the child, trying to coax a smile or a
few words from her frightened lips. She played games with her, told
her stories, bought her candy, and changed her clothes half a dozen
times a day. Before Chun-ieng returned to work, the glazed look in
her foster daughter's eyes was gone, but she looked terrified whenever
Chun-ieng left the room. When Chun-ieng returned to Taipei, this
second abandonment seemed too great for her daughter to bear. Day
after day the child sat in the guest hall, her tiny body pulled up to
occupy the smallest amount of space in the wicker chair, her eyes
dully resting on the floor. The busy adults tried to lure her into activ-
ity and even the children treated her with special consideration, but
nothing seemed to have any effect. When ordered to eat, she ate, but
as soon as possible she would crawl back into the chair. She never
cried and as far as I know never spoke. Her grief totally engulfed her.
I am still haunted by that tiny figure of silent despair crouching in the
shadows of the empty guest hall. Her despair was to me, and from
their sad faces, to the Lims as well, a symbol of Chun-ieng's despair.
Chun-ieng had at last accepted her mother's profession and turned her
back on dreams of a normal life.

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[357] cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant
scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned
to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the
only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic
desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked
down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved.
Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from mak-
ing any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from
damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to
control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure
the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to
lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had
been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six
children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal
homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified
with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng
had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence
of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation
for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a
confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her
life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even
though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show
what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

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584 "I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she
would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to
give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the
time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His
mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them.
She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore.
She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and
adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that

she lied to my parents and told them they already had a son. Then, when the go-between came, she borrowed a neighbor's boy and said it was the son I was to marry. 159x
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"When my real parents found out the truth, they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her money. She didn't dare to come. My uncle was very proud and had a great deal of influence, so she didn't dare say anything about it.

"If I hadn't been tricked away like that, I wouldn't be where I am now and have such a bad life. All my sisters married their foster brothers and they are all very rich and very happy now. My family always gave their daughters to families with sons. It saved them the trouble of having to marry the girls out themselves, and the girls made respectable marriages. It does not look good for an adopted daughter to marry out of her family no matter what. People will say, 'Oh, that woman married twice!' [The implication is that her first marriage occurs upon adoption.]

"When they found out how they had been tricked, my uncle came to my foster parents house to get me back. He even brought something to carry me home in, but when he got there and saw how much everyone liked me and how well they were treating me, he decided to let me stay. I guess he just decided that was my fate.

"But really, the people in my foster family liked me very much. The people who lived around there all called me 'the aristocrat of the adopted daughters.' From the time I was adopted until I married, I never had to cook or do much else. I helped to take care of the younger children and did a little housework, but that was all. My father and mother and grandmother all liked me very much and were very good to me. [857]

"Five years after I was adopted, my foster mother had her first child. Until then I was the only child in the family and could do whatever I wanted. I slept with my grandmother and she petted me each night until I went to sleep. It was the same until I married. No matter how late it was, I would wait for my grandmother before I would go to bed. I was afraid to go to sleep by myself. That was because they tricked my parents that way and adopted me so young. All of my sisters and my father's brother's daughters weren't adopted until they were three years old.

"I go to visit my natal family and my foster family very often."

Of her marriage Lim Chui-ENG told me: "She [probably the go-

#159 between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I
+593 said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married
• 599 when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all
584 because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to
marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick
out your husband yourself because then you can get along together.
See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We
don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound
used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged
marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and
then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so
now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married,
all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the
stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I
wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She
didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years
later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead
and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them
that they gave me a sad, hard life."

+159 I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her
+596 husband whispering to him about various things and she answered
+593 indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time
because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I
had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out
and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is
scolding . . ."

[141] My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy,
suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He
doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes,
but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always
remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls.
Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens.

[142] He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's
family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a
+159 handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength
+596 and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The
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166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of
electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing
the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit
in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female,
the most common means for adding members is through repro-
duction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will
not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
392 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
• 592 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children.
Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with
the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members
may also be added by marriage which also varies in accord-
ance with the sex of the individual added and also at the
stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
292 ess is started and consummated. Any of the above changes
592 must be registered in the official records. If the change
is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is
the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death
must be registered but a death never creates a new unit,
for any unit continues in spite of membership changes.
New units are only created by the process of family divi-
sion, a formal event which must be registered in the public
office. In a division into two or more new units, one of
the new units will usually be considered as a continuation
of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to
disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of
only one person and this unit would disappear with his
death or adoption or if the individual married into another
unit.

125 Again, because of the errors associated with the
592 official records, the following discussion is based on
data which was gathered through interviews in the vil-
lage. Marriages were only considered if one of the origi-
nal partners was still alive and residing in the village.
There was at least one interview with each living spouse.
There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but
this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
• [592] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only
considered if one of the original participants was still
living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592 only the adopted child.
597

Regular Marriage

58
[83] There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's; and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

592 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

584 Careful collection of data is necessary in obtain-
654 ing marriage rates by types for there is a tendency to
183 disguise the latter two types as if they were the highly
123 rated arranged form. One man in Sanlei once told me he
had an "arranged marriage" and did not see his bride until
the wedding. I later learned he and his wife were from
the same village, they grew up in homes only 100 feet
apart, and both played on the same school tag-ball team.
(For discussion of marriage events, see Chapter VIII.)

Incorporation of the Bride

593 Marriage does not make the bride a full-fledged
851 member of her new family for a wife attains a status in
her husband's home only through her children, especially
sons (C. K. Yang, 1959a:89). This value, true for much
of China, has been clearly expressed by Fei:

. . . the legal act of marriage, although preceding
the birth of a child, always anticipates the reali-
zation of parenthood . . . the full status of a
woman is acquired after the birth of a child. Sim-
ilarly, the affinal relation remains impotent un-
less a child is born . . . (1939:30).

This is also true in Sanlei, a wife is not fully incor-
porated into her husband's chia until after she has a

child. As will be discussed later, an adopted child may
be substituted for a natural child. In spite of the fact
that the literature suggests that barren women could be
divorced (Lang, 1946:40), no one in Sanlei had ever heard
of it happening.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pam-
pered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common
in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For
Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must ad-
just to the female's household with her father usually the
effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
• 597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the
siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and
Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of
a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average
seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother
and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely
parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely
"putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them to-
554 gether." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also asso-
587 ciated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
588 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in
common a relatively low status in the village value system.

585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay
occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair
lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to [885] reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often dis-
584 cussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are
597 statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hain Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

584
• 597
593 At the time of the adoption and while the child is being raised, there are few differences to be distinguished between girls who were adopted as future mates and girls who were merely adopted as daughters. For his Hokkien village in northern Taiwan, Wolf argues that there is a difference in the daughters who were adopted as future mates and those as mere daughters (1966:884) because he classifies the adoption of a daughter as a future mate as part of the marriage procedure. He claims it differs from the regular marriage only in the longer length of time between change of residence and consumation. Yet, his data do not fully support this position. If the boy dies, the girl is not a widow (1966:884) and furthermore, she becomes eligible as a marriage partner for men such as her intended's brother or his patrilineal parallel first cousin with whom relations would have been incestuous if she has actually been married as planned. Similarly, it will be pointed out later that a siaosiv daughter may be married to a younger brother if the eldest son is able to convince his parents he should have a regular marriage.

It appears for Sanlei that the actual decision regarding marriage is not made until the couple is approximately the appropriate age for marriage. Even then, the decision is dependent upon the financial well-being of the family and the ability of the boy to resist his parents which he usually tries to do. In all twelve examples

584 cited above the male was informed first and in only one
• 597 case, did the boy claim he did not try to indicate strong
593 reluctance. This latter individual remains today a most
filial son, age 42, living in an extended family with his
father having full control of all family income and expen-
ditures. Eleven of the twelve cases then may be considered
on one level to indicate a failure by the boy or girl to
obtain their wishes. Sometimes, the reluctance was ex-
pressed mildly but in other cases, there was a loud argu-
ment, lasting days, which was heard all over the village.
In one of the twelve marriages, the bride was adopted to
marry the eldest son in the family. She later was married
to the second son after the eldest son successfully per-
suaded his father not to force the marriage. The second
son also tried to refuse but his father was adamant.

584 Wolf (1966:883-92) found that the siaosiv marriage
581 had a much lower probability of success than normal types
which he relates to the nature of the causes for the "in-
cest tabu." Data for Sanlei tend to support his argument.
Only two of the twelve marriages would be rated as above
average successes in the village. In both cases (one is
the filial son example cited previously), each partner is
584 quiet and unaggressive and was so as a child. All four
836 spouses were virgins at marriage and neither man had been
to the tea or wine houses. Although there was some ritual
avoidance after the engagement was announced, in both

257
584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] siaosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and
directly related to the lessening power of older genera-
tions over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for
the bride in her new home largely originates from the
groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see
Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% siaosiv marriages in which
the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of
the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the
groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal"
forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei
do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their
homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

• 597 There are a number of different reasons for the
adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a
future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as
no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to
invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant
(1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei
except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

- 597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 In order to eventually allow for a siaosiv marriage,
597 a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a siaosiv marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested.
562 Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through
842 her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

- 597 improve her position in an extended household soon after
562 marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for
842 a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

597 A second additional reason for the adoption of
769 daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

- 597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

- 597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

597 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

- 162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

- 597 married as siaosiv, and six who had been adopted and later
562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out.
- In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in siaosiv marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un.

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as <u>Siaosiv</u>	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with <u>Chao Fu</u>	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 13 girls who had been adopted out. There

- 597 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adoption between families who both live in the village counts twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.

[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siasiv marriages explains some

• 597
562 Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

<u>Birth Order</u>	<u>Number</u>
1	8
2	3
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

[248] of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

597 The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan siaosiv marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or ch'n ch'i (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at [435] marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages \$100.00.

- 591 paid to the natal family but it is said that the older
[435] the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the
greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However,
no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold
but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some
people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate
child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers
[548] did know of two girls in another village a mile distant
who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village
girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed
[178] for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again,
impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions cur-
rently is slightly less than it was in the past.

591 The traditional literature suggests that the treat-
562 ment of adopted daughters in a household was often extreme-
593 ly harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette,
1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311).
For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as
well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sen-
timent also that girls given out in adoption should go to
a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a
later siaosiv marriage because it was said that if the
girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised
under conditions to promote good relations in the family.
A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly
censured.

Adopted Sons

• 597 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated
562 into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually
occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and
complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent
[162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were
only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been
adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted fe-
males. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised
five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described
by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent rela-
tions are established or maintained between the two fami-
lies in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to
keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family
597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted
562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's,
585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not un-
common in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for
the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two be-
fore the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and
groom three days after their marriage is consummated to
worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's
homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of
an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's
597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

- 597 if the boy learns about his natal home he will have a strong desire to return to it permanently.

597
602

The second type is not quite a complete adoption socially although legally it is a standard adoption. Two of the seven Sanlei adoptions were of this form, an adoption between two closely-related family units which are usually composed of patrilineal kinsmen. A son might be given by one man who had several sons in adoption to his brother who had none. Since the household containing the two brothers may not have divided, this adoption may not involve a physical movement of the boy and in any case, the two families will usually remain intimate. In one of the Sanlei adoptions, two brothers were involved.

The other was deviant and involved matrilineal stepbrothers in an undivided household (illustrated in Figure 8). After Huang (1) died, leaving one son (5) his wife (2) remarried a Liao (3) and they had one son, a Liao (4). They all constituted a single economic family. Huang (5) married and had five children, all with the surname of Huang. Liao (4) married and had a daughter but his wife (7) ran away with a Mainland soldier, taking the child (8). The balance of the people on the diagram are now living as a single economic unit and worshipping two sets of ancestors, Liao and Huang, but these arrangements would not leave anyone to properly continue worship of the Liao line, i.e., there are no longer any Liao in the

• 597 youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son
602 (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was
changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household contin-
ues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a
trivial structural modification but this is not true for
the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings
in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a
junior high school as the only person in the family who
has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost
borne by his adopted father (4).

597
562 Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely



Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

- 597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
[435] Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited,
was \$3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be pur-
chased in the same way for less than \$300.00, the price
is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only
adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adop-
ted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428
562 The above described processes are used along with
birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a
family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by
family division, a legal event requiring registration in
the public office. Family division can be smooth and har-
monious but is usually a period of tension for disputes
over the division of property are common. It is usual to
employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i
(affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division.
Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in
mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there
should be no differences in shares according to sex but
in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It
appears that it is considered to be the family's respon-
sibility to see a daughter properly married and living
with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

121 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria
182 were merely based on those items that seemed immediately
602 necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can
59 all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identified only by a number in parentheses.

- [769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.
- [769]
[562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.
- [611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.
- [424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.
- [597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.
- [596] (6) The large extended family, ta-chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.
- [577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.
- [578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.
- (9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.
- (10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

The Desire for Children

181 The following expression of the Confucian design for
842 living is still significant after 2000 years: "Of the of-
769 fenses against filial piety, lacking descendants is the
775 worst" (Hsu, 1963:29). Barrenness is not only contrary to
duty to one's ancestors, but a man without offspring to wor-
ship his soul after death may become a wandering spirit or
181 be confined to one of the many hells. Additionally, social
842 security is essentially provided by one's children and
554 moreover, children are a source of prestige and a means of
validating one's position in the community. It would be
very rare for a childless man to fill an official position
or play any significant leadership role in the community.
A woman gains full status and membership in her husband's
181 family through her children. There is a culturally provided
842 escape for the biologically barren: an adopted child is the
597 equivalent of a natural child.

The pressure for descendants has other concomitant
[626] effects. A family without natural children is nearly forced
to adopt one or more by community pressure even if they had
no real personal desire of their own although the cultural
values and logic of security mean the latter would be un-
581 likely. Almost every woman gets married as there are few
842 acceptable alternative roles for women outside of marriage.
597 In the rare case of a woman who never marries, i.e., some
prostitutes, or in the case of widowhood before bearing

414

581 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide
842 security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high
597 sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were
able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year
since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were
necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always
exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most
men who never marry have some kind of social defect such
as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men
also adopt children such as the two never-married men in
Sanlei with adopted children.

842 Martin Yang reports that the number of children de-
178 sired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing
183 over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longi-
125 tudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents
in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village
support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate
longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the
same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond
child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who
bore more than four children and those who bore less, there
is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of
183 a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For
178 young married women, it is possible that the attitude may
842 change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may be-
come congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the
number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage, 584 siaosiv, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. 591 The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

582 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy